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'Even if I die in the service of the nation, I will be proud of it. Every drop of my blood will contribute to the growth of this nation and make it strong and dynamic.'

(Indira Gandhi's last famous words: October 30, 1984)

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INDIRA, RAJIV & JAYAWARDENE

'Even if I die in the service of the nation, I will be proud of it. Every drop of my blood will contribute to the growth of this nation and make it strong and dynamic.'

These are the famous last words Indira Gandhi uttered on October 20 only a day before she was cruelly gunned down. How many leaders of the world, present or past, would have the right to utter such words with the remotest expectation of being believed by their people? If one looks around, there is none. That sums up the exalted position which Indira held, not only in the hearts of her 750 million people, but also in the eyes of the world. The imposing array of international political figures who descended on New Delhi to pay their last respects to the departed Indira demonstrated her stature as a world figure.

To reach the helm of a subcontinent with a fifth of the world's population, 18 major languages, 300 dialects, a diversity of religious and ethnic groups and a caste-torn society, is no mean task. Indira was at the helm for 16 long years while retaining the love and support of the vast majority of her people. She made India what it is — strong, powerful, united and respected. And she achieved this through her absolute commitment to the unity of India and secularism. India built on the sound foundation of the two basic principles of unity in diversity and secularism has proved its strength and maturity by the smooth and orderly manner in which the country and its people overcame their unexpected tragedy and trauma and put Rajiv Gandhi at the helm.

Grief-stricken he would have been at the tragic death of his beloved mother at the hands of trusted men who became assassins; inexperienced, surely he is with only four years in politics to his credit, within the few days of his appointment as Prime Minister, Rajiv has displayed enormous strength and character

The prompt and effective way in which he dealt with the spontaneous violence that erupted in Delhi and some other parts of the country demonstrated that Rajiv possesses the potential to be a great Prime Minister worthy to have succeeded his illustrious and incomparable mother. No sooner than he was appointed PM, he addressed the nation on TV and unreservedly condemned the violence that had been unleashed against the Sikh community. On the following day, he imposed a curfew in Delhi and other riot-torn places and ordered the army to shoot on sight anyone who engaged in anti-Sikh violence and looting.

'PM EXERTS AUTHORITY ON DELHI STREETS: TOP CIVIL SERVANTS SACKED – RAJIV'S TROOPS STOP VIOLENCE' was the title to a news report in 'The Guardian' (London) filed by its Delhi correspondent. Heads rolled in the civil and police services for failure to take prompt action to prevent the violence. Even at the risk of antagonising the millions who would have wanted to attend the funeral of their revered leader, Rajiv cancelled all train and transport services to Delhi, thus preventing any possible outbreak of renewed violence in the streets following the funeral.

After having performed the last rites, straight from the funeral, Rajiv visited the areas affected by the violence to gain a first-hand knowledge of the extent of the damage and suffering. The following day, he ordered a sum of £17 million to be allocated as compensation for the victims of the violence. When allegations began to appear that some Congress (I) Party members were also involved in the violence, Rajiv ordered an immediate inquiry.

He ordered the immediate release of all films and photographs seized by over-enthusiastic customs officials in an attempt to prevent them being sent abroad. After his unanimous confirmation as the Prime Minister by the entire Congress Parliamentary Party, he has now dissolved Parliament and decided to go before the Indian electorate in late December to obtain the mandate of the people in his own right.

Such actions, in the midst of tragedy and trauma, speak for themselves. Within two weeks of his appointment, he has shown his mettle as a capable and effective leader with potential to develop as a great Prime Minister in the traditions of his great predecessors.

The manner in which President Jayawardene reacted to the genocidal violence against the Tamils in July–August 1983, his menacing silence for days when uncontrolled murder and arson were unleashed against the Tamil people, his failure to condemn that violence or to take action against those members of the security forces who participated in the violence, his neglect to express a single syllable of sympathy for the victims of that violence and his total refusal to order an inquiry into the violence even after it had occurred, stand in stark contrast to the reaction and response of Rajiv in the context of the violence that erupted following the assassination of Indira. With only four years of experience in politics, Rajiv has proved himself to be a leader of the nation. On the contrary, despite his experience of forty-five years in politics, Jayawardene has demonstrated himself to be a mere leader of his tribe.

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Namaste Mother India !

An appreciation by Aravind

Two months before her assassination, Mrs Indira Gandhi was asked by foreign newsmen in the very garden in which she was later struck down, whether after the storming of the Golden Temple she could trust Sikh guards. She fondly looked at Sub-Inspector Beant Singh and replied: 'When I have Sikhs like this around me then I don't believe I have anything to fear.'

It was a fact that soon after the Golden Temple incidents senior security advisers to her had transferred all her Sikh bodyguards out of the inner security circle, but Mrs Gandhi had them re-instated.

That was the tragedy. Ruling over the destinies of one-sixth of mankind, the Joan of Arc of India who strode like a colossus in world affairs for nearly two decades, seeing the advent and departure of many a world leader, resisting the wiles of US policies, the pressures of Pakistan, the chicanery of China and lately the jugglery of Jayawardene's Sri Lanka, having been showered with accolades like 'Mother India' and 'Warrior Goddess' and who was responsible for the resurgence of a new dimension, honour and respectability for the Indian image in the world arena, had to pay the price for the trust she had reposed on her own Sikh bodyguards.

That trust and the price she paid for it have immortalised her in history by proving that she bore no ill will or malice towards the Sikh community in ordering the storming of the temple; that she genuinely and sincerely believed the action she took was to preserve the unity of India, the land that she loved, the land that she was proud of, the land for which she had made supreme sacrifices and the land for whose unity and integrity she ultimately laid her life.

Domestic policies

To the capitalist countries her domestic policies were anathema, her Indian pride was profanity and her policy of non-alignment was nefarious. Dignified in triumph, graceful in defeat and courageous in convictions though she was, yet she had been maligned as 'cold-blooded' by Nixon, dismissed as 'self-centred' on the very day of her assassination by Kissinger and decried all along as an arrogant and ruthless lady by the Western media.

Very few in the West attempted to interpret her actions in the context of the enormity of the task that was hers in ruling over the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, caste-torn and poverty-stricken 750 million population of India, which had stood at 400 million barely 35 years ago. Very few dared to condemn the US, which by its regular militarisation of hostile Pakistan was all along compelling her to divert funds meant for the battle against poverty to increased defence spending. Very few bothered to condemn Maoist China for continuously encouraging and brewing Naxalites in India.

Anti-imperialist stance

Yet, Mrs Gandhi, fighting against all these wiles, taking a strong anti-imperialist stance, pursuing a positive non-aligned policy and co-operating closely with the socialist countries, was able to elevate India to the position of the eighth largest industrialised nation in the world, the fifth nuclear power in the world and a country in the world space club, having its own orbiting satellites and having seen an Indian cosmonaut orbit the Earth. As the Soviet President pointed out, she was the 'glorious daughter of the great Indian people'.

To the Tamils of Eelam, she was a beacon light in their stormy struggle for survival as a nation. To the many thousands of Tamils who were held in refugee camps in Sri Lanka during the July 1983 pogrom, said to be guarded by the Sinhalese army which was crying out for Tamil blood, in her swift decision to warn President Jayawardene, and send in her Foreign Minister to Sri Lanka, Mrs Gandhi's stature was that of a saviour. They realised that they were not without friends. With President Jayawardene delaying the despatch of Tamil refugees to their homelands, to prolong their agony and suffering in refugee camps in Sinhalese areas and putting off the Indian offer to provide passenger ships for their evacuation, she went ahead and despatched her ships to the Colombo harbour where there was a considerable delay in allowing the entry.

In Mrs Gandhi's India today there are nearly 50,000 Tamil refugees, once again breathing in peace. She brought considerable pressure to bear on the despotic Jayawardene regime to negotiate a political settlement to the problems facing the Tamils. Her government had championed the cause of the Tamils in international forums.

When Mrs Gandhi was elected leader of the Congress Party in 1966, she had recalled some lines from Robert Frost:

'The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep.'

That Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi is no more, having been laid to eternal sleep by the long hands of destabilisation. The mortal remains of Mother India have returned to the soil she so dearly loved. She remains immortal, amongst others, in the minds of the Tamils of Eelam to whom she held out a promise and was in the process of fulfilling it when the end came. The Tamils of Eelam look forward to their beloved Priyadarshini's successor, Rajiv Gandhi, to achieve the completion of that promise — the promise made by Mother India.

MGR FLOWN TO U.S. FOR TREATMENT

The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr M.G. Ramachandran, was flown on November 4 to the United States by special Air India aircraft for specialist treatment including a kidney transplant, at the Down State Medical Centre, Brooklyn, New York.

The Chief Minister suffered a stroke on October 13. Following this, the right side of his body – right arm and leg – as well as his speech were impaired. He was nevertheless conscious throughout and was being treated at Apollo Hospital.

Full of emotion

The late Mrs Indira Gandhi visited the Chief Minister in the hospital before her assassination. 'I will not mind coming to a hospital to call on a friend. But I would not want to come as a patient,' Mrs Gandhi had remarked in a lighter vein during her visit. About her visit, Dr P.C. Reddy, Chairman of Apollo Hospitals who accompanied the late PM, said: 'She went back to him, put her hand on his arm, and in a moment full of emotion, tears welled up in both their eyes. Her feeling for the sick man was something that stood out.'

Mr V.R. Nedunchezhian, the Tamil Nadu Finance Minister, has taken over duties as acting Chief Minister.

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MUSLIM PROTEST

The All Ceylon Muslim League has protested against the proposed confiscation of land belonging to Muslim peasants.

The proposal by the government to take over the land of nearly 15 acres will affect several Muslim families who have lived in the area for over 150 years. The land takeover is in connection with the Dhiga Vapi Sacred Town project.

SRI LANKA INFLATION HIGHEST IN ASIA

According to an International Labour Organisation study of inflation for 1982 and 1983, Sri Lanka has the highest inflation rate in all Asia.

It went up from 5.4 per cent in 1982 to 21.4 per cent last year, Second highest on the list was Bangladesh, where inflation doubled from 4.9 per cent to 10.6 per cent.

The study, covering 73 countries, shows that the biggest increases in the rate of inflation in these two years have been in developing countries where the average increase has been 20 per cent.

The League, in a protest memorandum to President Jayawardene, has stated that the decisions made at an earlier conference convened by the President himself were being overridden by administrative action and has suggested a further top-level conference.

TRAIN SERVICES CURTAILED

The inter-city train service from Colombo to Jaffna has been further curtailed from November 2. One train would no longer travel to Jaffna but would terminate at Kilinochchi.

Tamil people travelling to the Jaffna district already face severe inconvenience by the cancellation of regular rail services. Now that the inter-city train will not go beyond Kilinochchi, passengers from all over the Jaffna district will have to seek other forms of transport to and from Kilinochchi.

POLICE COMMANDOS TO REPLACE ARMY

Police commandos of the Special Task Force have begun to replace the army contingents operating in the Batticaloa district, according to a spokesman of the Ministry of National Security.

The Israeli Mossad has been training the police commandos in Sri Lanka for the last several months. No doubt, these poilice commanders would have been trained in 'search and destroy' missions which have been employed in the occupied West Bank territories against the Palestinians.

Although the army has been replaced, the police commandos have been invested with enormous powers of the army.

First in the field

Mrs Mangalaranee Subramaniam is the first blind woman Tamil graduate to become a teacher under the government. She takes up her appointment shortly. An old student of the Nuffield School for the Deaf and the Blind at Kaithady and of Drieberg College, Chavakachcheri, she entered the University of Jaffna from the Methodist Girls' College, Pt. Pedro.

She passed her BA (Hons) History examination, obtaining a Second Class (Upper). She has been on the staff of the Chundiculi Girls College since 1983, doing part-time work. She is gifted with musical and literary talents and while in the University was the author of an Anthology of poems entitled 'Whither Society'.

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£2,500	92.66	65.96	53.52	47.99
£3,000	111.19	79.15	64.23	47.58
£3,500	129.72	92.34	74.93	67.18
£4,000	148.25	105.54	85.64	76.18
£4,500	166.78	118.73	96.34	86.37
£5,000	185.31	131.92	107.05	95.97
£6,500	240.91	171.49	139.49	124.76

Typical example: Borrow £1,000 over 36 months x £37.07 per month equals £1,334.52 total repaid APR 21.7%

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PATCHWORK SOLUTION WON'T WORK

The President of Sri Lanka should realise that dismemberment of the island may be easy and its sell-out may also be easy but the retention of the nation as a solid polity calls for measures which are at once radically humanist and constitutionally viable, said Mr V.R. Krishna Iyer, former Supreme Court judge of India.

He noted that Sri Lanka, which is in the throes of a political and constitutional crisis, should reach some constructive, accommodative solution for its survival as a sovereign state. Tinkering with elemental problems like the ethnic Tamil question and half-hearted patchwork solutions are bound to fail.

A real solution could arise only if there was a substantial offer of effective autonomy to the Tamils, who are ethnically, linguistically and territorially an important component of the island.

At the bottom was gross discrimination and dangerous trends threatening the survival of the Tamil people and unless this problem was faced squarely, expressions like 'extremism' and 'terrorism' could not cut ice.

Today on account of Sinhalese chauvinism the President and all his men are inclined to take a stiff position with only crumbs offered to Tamil parties like the TULF. No party can effectively represent the Tamils until the common Tamil man in Sri Lanka regains confidence in being an integral part of the island's polity.

This means that a series of measures with substantial representation at the political level of administration, in the civil service, police and army, be devised. Even more important, a method of decentralisation of government, perhaps quasi-federal in status might have to be worked out, retaining the integrity of the nation but conceding as a reality the right of the Tamils to have their government within the broad framework of the sovereign nation.

Mr Krishna Iyer added: 'A large number of international bodies have investigated the atrocities in Sri Lanka perpetrated on Tamils directly by the state forces or actively abetted by its agencies. A wide spectrum of such bodies have found unanimously that human rights are in grave peril for the Tamils of Sri Lanka.'

MORE & MORE MONEY FOR GUNS

The already heavily reduced subsidies on welfare services in Sri Lanka will be cut still further in the next budget for 1985 in order to provide an extra Rs 2 billion for defence and 'anti-terrorist' activities. The government has also recently announced the cancellation of all development projects and withdrawal of all financial allocations to such projects for the purpose of expending those monies on 'anti-terrorist' activities.

This will treble such expenditure, now in the region of around Rs 1 billion.

Most of the new expenditure will be on the purchase of more sophisticated armaments from the US, Britain and other imperialist countries. In addition, the government intends to spend between Rs 3 to 5 billion on the purchase of new naval craft, according to the SUN (19/9/84).

Expenditure on the recruitment, salaries, etc., of instructors from Mossad, Shin Beth and the former SAS mercenaries is not included in these figures.

REV. THANINAYAGAM REMEMBERED

Father Xavier S. Thani Nayagam DD (Rome), MA, M.Litt (Annamalai), PhD (Lond), was remembered on 1.9.84 on the fourth anniversary of his death. As the Founder of the International Organisation of Tamil Research in 1964, he was the driving force behind the three conferences held during his lifetime — Madras (1968), Paris (1970), and Jaffna (1940).

At the Fifth ICTR Conference held in Madurai, Father Thaninayagam was awarded the Posthumous Honour of a Degree of Doctor of Literature on the first anniversary of his death.

MUSLIMS AGAINST ISRAEL

A number of Muslim organisations in Sri Lanka have set up a Committee 'to protect Sri Lanka from the Israeli danger'.

The address of the Committee is 63 Dematagoda Rd, Colombo 9. They have also started a fund to help Muslim youth who have been hurt by police action to stop their protests against the starting of the Israeli 'interests section'.

JAYEWARDENE'S HISTORY

Inaugurating a Japanese-aided hospital near Colombo, the Sri Lankan President Mr Jayewardene is reported to have asserted ('The Hindu', Sept 19), that 'like Japan, Sri Lanka has been an independent nation for an unbroken period of two thousand years.

'Though there were ups and downs we never bowed our heads to a foreigner. In 1815 we willingly accepted the British kings as our kings in place of Sri Wickramarajasinghe who was from South India. Jayawardenepura was the capital of the last Sinhala king Parakramabahu.'

Even allowing for the fact that Mr Jayewardene was speaking as a representative of the Sinhalese in a predominantly Sinhala area, to an almost exclusively Sinhala audience and in Sinhalese, it is nevertheless incomprehensible how a responsible Head of State could pack so much of chauvinistic absurdity, downright subversion of history and transparent travesty of truth in so few words.

While the years of domination by General MacArthur's army of occupation may not technically be considered subjugation of Japan by a foreign power, Ceylon was under Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial rule for over four centuries.

Prior to the advent of the colonial masters, the Tamils of the island had their own independent and sovereign kingdom in the north and the north-east.

It was the Jaffna Tamil king Senthil Kumaran who fought against the Portuguese and was captured in 1619, taken to Goa and hanged there. He did not receive any help from the Sinhalese rulers of either Kandy or Kotte. Later it was Captain Varnakulanathan who hailed from the Valvettiturai — Point Pedro area in the North (places that are very much in the news today) who carried on the fight against the colonisers for three years. There is no record of the Sinhalese ever having raised so much as even a little finger to aid him in his struggle for freedom.

In the circumstances, one can only wonder at the enormity of his political legerdemain when Mr Jayewardene asserts the Sinhalese willingly accepted British domination in preference to freedom under Sri Wickramarajasinghe for the simple reason that he had his origin in South India. Need one look for any more pointed reference to indicate Tamil and India phobia in the Lankan President?

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SRI LANKA — ARE THE TAMILS SUBJECTED TO GENOCIDE?

by P. RAJANAYAGAM

The scale, the frequency and the ferocity of the physical violence against the Tamil minority and their property, the role of the security forces and mobs belonging to the majority Sinhala community in this violence and the government's apparent failure to provide security of life and property to the Tamil people taken together with the many legislative and administrative measures taken against them raises the question whether the Tamil people of Sri Lanka have been and are being subjected to the crime of genocide within the terms of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Genocide is a crime under international law and Article II of the Genocide Convention provides:

'In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
(a) Killing member of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part:
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.'

The Tamil people of Sri Lanka constitute a group within the meaning of Article II and the crime of genocide has been committed against them by 'acts' which fall under (a), (b) and (c) of the said Article.

Article III of the Convention provides:

'The following acts shall be punishable:
(a) Genocide;
(b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
(c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
(d) Attempt to commit genocide;
(e) Complicity in genocide.'

Article IV of the Genocide Convention provides that all persons, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals, shall be liable to punishment if they commit any of the acts referred to in the preceding paragraph.

In the case of Sri Lanka, the evidence is incontrovertible that successive governments, public officials including service personnel, and private individuals in the form of goon squads and groups of violent Sinhalese have committed acts of genocide within the meaning of Article II against the Tamil people.

Acts of genocide committed against the Tamil people are multi-dimensional in character — physical, mental, religious, linguistic, cultural and by imposing conditions of life calculated to bring about the physical destruction of the Tamil people in whole or in part.

The Tamil people of Sri Lanka have been subjected to 'conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction' either 'in whole or in part' in the following instances:

(a) The deprivation of the fundamental rights of (i) nationality, (ii) citizenship, and (iii) franchise to a million Tamil people;
(b) Continuation of a category of 'stateless' Tamil people without rights to which other people are entitled to:
(c) Repatriation of a large number of them against their will;
(d) The deprivation of franchise has resulted in the loss of nearly 50 per cent of Tamil representation in Parliament, and to that extent the loss of any say in the affairs of government at national and local level, which in turn has an adverse impact on their power or ability to protect themselves physically and otherwise;

(e) The discriminatory practice followed by the government in regard to land distribution and colonisation by Sinhalese people of traditional Tamil areas of northern and eastern provinces constitutes a threat to the survival of the cultural, linguistic, political and economic existence of the Tamil people as a distinct nationality.
(f) The imposition of Sinhala as the sole official language even in the traditional homelands of the Tamil people constitutes a threat to the existence of the Tamil people as a distinct nationality.
(g) The practice of economic deprivation of Tamil areas and discrimination in education is aimed at the progressive weakening of the Tamil people and lead to their eventual physical destruction as a distinct nationality.
(h) The burning and destruction of libraries containing historical records of the heritage of the Tamil people, the deliberate destruction of statues of Tamil literary, religious and political personalities, cultural landmarks, market squares, businesses, homes, etc. are aimed at the cultural and physical destruction of the Tamil people.

Ever since 1956, the Tamil people have been subjected to violence, including 'killing' and 'causing serious bodily or mental harm':

1956: Over 100 Tamils killed and several more injured following the riots which broke out after the passage of the Sinhala only Act;

1958: Over 1,000 Tamils were killed and many thousands seriously injured and properties of many thousands of Tamils burnt or destroyed.

1977: In the anti-Tamil disturbances which were described as 10 times worse than that of 1958, thousands of Tamils were killed and seriously injured and their property burnt.

1981: May–June — The police went on a rampage, killed Tamils and destroyed their property; the Jaffna Public Library which was regarded as a repository of the cultural heritage of Tamils, was burned down with a priceless collection of 95,000 books including historical manuscripts.

1981: August — Anti-Tamil violence in which an unknown number of Tamils killed, injured and their property destroyed.

1983: May–June — Violence including murder and arson on a considerable scale against Tamils in Jaffna Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, and Trincomalee districts.

1983: July — Island-wide anti-Tamil violence on an unprecedented scale; over 2,000 killed, several thousand injured and almost all the properties of Tamils in the south of the country looted and destroyed, most of their businesses burnt or destroyed. It has been conceded that sections of the security forces took part or actively encouraged the violence.

1983: July 25 and 27 — 52 Tamil detainees killed in the state's prison.

1983: July 24 and 26 — The government has admitted the killing of several scores of Tamils in Jaffna and Trincomalee by the security forces.

On every occasion mentioned above, the killings of Tamil people have been accompanied by arson and destruction of their property.

The Government

In almost all instances referred to above, the government has failed, neglected or refused to prevent the violence against the Tamil people or their property. The government has also failed to properly investigate and identify the persons or groups of persons

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responsible for the violence and punish them. Even where the persons were identified or capable of identification, the government had failed to take action.

The failure, neglect and/or refusal to prevent the recurrence of violence against the Tamil people, and again its failure, neglect and/or refusal to investigate, identify and push those responsible for the violence against the Tamil people is tantamount to conspiracy and complicity in acts of genocide against the Tamil people.

The Armed Forces

There is irrefutable evidence that, on so many occasions, members of the police and armed services have either colluded and/or actively participated in acts of violence, including killing and causing serious bodily harm, against the Tamil people. It is not a case of indisciplined men in the armed services letting loose violence against the people indiscriminately.

Their violence is reserved for and directed at the Tamils as an ethnic group and their property. The number of occasions on which the armed services had been on rampages killing people and burning houses and other property prove beyond doubt that they are guilty of committing acts of genocide against the Tamil people.

Private Individuals

Since 1956, the Tamil people have been subjected on many occasions to violence, including killing and serious bodily harm, by gangs of Sinhalese people who fall into the category of private individuals.

The ICJ Report on Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka, 1981, stated:

'As a minimum the Tamils are entitled to protection of their physical security within Sri Lanka. This protection can no longer be taken for granted.'

The ICJ Report of March 1984 stated:

'Communal riots in which Tamils are killed, maimed, robbed and rendered homeless are no longer isolated episodes; they are beginning to become a pernicious habit.'

Since the island-wide anti-Tamil violence of July 1983, the government has permitted its security forces to engage in mass-scale killing of innocent Tamil civilians, including women and children, under the pretext of combatting terrorism.

The Report of the Amnesty International released in June 1984 details the extrajudicial killings in which the security forces have engaged in since July 1983. Several hundred innocent Tamils, including women and children, have died at the hands of the security forces since March-April 1983.

In apparent retaliation to individual and isolated acts of violence against them, the security forces have made and continue to make reprisal raids in the course of which several villages and towns have been set ablaze, driving thousands of Tamils to flee from their burnt-out homes.

The city of Jaffna and the villages of Valvettiturai, Point Pedro, Chunnakam, Mannar, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu, have been repeatedly subjected to arson and destruction by the security forces.

The government has publicly acknowledged, in the face of irrefutable evidence, that in one operation alone, the security forces set on fire and destroyed 123 homes and shop premises belonging to Tamils in the town of Mannar on August 11, 1984. This act of indiscriminate incineration provoked the Catholic Bishop of Mannar to say: 'It is like an army of invasion, flattening everything in its path.'

The following extracts from on-the-spot reports of correspondents reveal the continuing violence suffered by the Tamil people at the hands of the security forces:

'Several thousand refugees from shelling by the Sri Lankan navy have fled to a camp on the northern coast as the government continues its operation staged with the Israeli Secret Service advisers . . . according to sources in Colombo, a camp for refugees has been set up at the village of Atchuveli, not far from Valvettiturai which was shelled earlier this week by the Sri Lankan navy. More than 2,500 civilians are said to have moved into the camp.

'The section of Valvettiturai lying between the coastal highway and the sea was completely destroyed. Sri Lankan opposition sources claimed that large numbers of Tamils were killed in new incidents in Jaffna's main street — the Hospital Street.'

(The Guardian, 10.9.84)

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

'Anti-terrorist police yesterday set fire to about 100 fishermen's huts and a dozen primitive houses and shops in the Tamil village of Valvettiturai, 16 miles north-east of Jaffna.

'When I arrived there yesterday (14.8.84) afternoon, a pall of black smoke was rising from the fishermen's huts clustered along the shore. The remains of the houses and shops destroyed in the main street were smouldering.

'About 20 villagers led us gingerly through a maze of alleys from which we could see the huts being burned. The locals were terrified of showing themselves in case the special police opened fire. When they spotted some police coming towards us, they bundled us into our rickety Morris Minor taxi and urged us on our way.

'Although I was unable to obtain confirmation of earlier charges that Valvettiturai was shelled from the sea with heavy losses of property, the villagers alleged yesterday that the shore was being machine-gunned for up to two hours every night by the navy.'

The Guardian, 15.8.84)

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

'Officials in Mannar's port, 195 miles north of Colombo, said they had seen soldiers setting fire to the shops. They also accused the army of shooting two civilians.

'Other army attacks on three nearby villages on Sunday and Monday left five dead and about 30 shops and houses burned, they added. Residents in several towns in the Tamil-dominated north have claimed that soldiers randomly attacked civilians to avenge rebel operations. The government has vigorously denied these charges. Officials who asked not to be named said about 30 soldiers arrived from a nearby military base on Sunday, looted a liquor store and set fire to the main bazaar.

'Soldiers shot a man outside his cafe and threw his body inside it to burn, they added. A teacher was shot dead as he looked out of his front door. The soldiers, who stayed an hour, had slipped out of their base and could not be controlled by the local commander, one official said.

'Meanwhile, in Jaffna, the frightened capital of Sri Lanka's north, funeral parlours are the only businesses sure to open round the clock these days. With residents staying indoors for fear of being caught in cross-fire between Tamil separatist guerrillas and the army, almost all shops were shut.

'Taxi drivers rarely venture out. One was shot dead in his cab on Friday. On one almost deserted street, one Roman Catholic told journalists he was too frightened to go to Sunday mass. 'We are afraid we will get shot.'

'The general hospital is working overtime but with only half its staff, doctors said. The rest have been afraid to come to work since the building was hit by gunfire on August 5 and 6. But the funeral parlours, with names like New Bright House and White House, provide a 24-hour service for victims of the latest round of violence.'

Financial Times, 16.8.84)

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

'Nineteen years old and pregnant, Mrs Kalavathi Thangathurai lay beside her husband on the dirt floor of their home, a mud-walled palm-thatched room in a compound housing 30 or more of their relatives.

'It was 9.30pm at night, and hurtling through the nodding palmyahs came what one man later described as a 'fiery star'. It struck a corner upright of their shanty and exploded, showering fragments which pierced holes in bicycle wheels, in saucepans and in the walls. Kalavathi died. Her husband was injured.

'The random killing of Kalavathi is paralleled by the equally random killing of Captain Mohan Das in Point Pedro. The captain was having some trouble with one of his industrial endeavours and

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called at the Post Office to make a long-distance telephone call. As he left he became caught up in a vengeful sweep through the little township by armed police who roared out of their camp after an ambush by Tamil extremists.

'They seized 20 gallons of petrol from the filling station near by, shot the captain, and drove off spraying bullets at houses and people along the way.

'A cyclist died at the next crossroads, an old lady visiting relatives for a wedding was shot through both feet — which have since been amputated. A mile further on, a 17-year-old boy was shot. At the hospital he was refused admittance by the police guard and later he bled to death, according to the local citizens' committee.

'The police commandos called at Hartley College, one of the most distinguished education establishments in the north . . . Some 7,500 books from the school library were pulled from their shelves, piled up and burned. In classrooms and laboratories the old wooden furniture was likewise heaped up, soaked with petrol and set on fire.'

(Times, 25.9.84)

The action of the security forces must be presumed to be in accordance with government orders or directions. To rebut this resumption, the government must take action against those offending sections of its security forces, including criminal prosecution for arson and murder. To date, the government has done no such thing, nor is there the slightest hint that it proposes to do so. On the contrary, the government and its ministers have been and are engaged in a cover-up of the atrocities committed by the security forces.

The thousands of Tamils seeking asylum or refugee status in Europe, America and Australia, the 40,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in South India, and the voluntary migration of thousands of able-bodied qualified Tamils to different parts of the world are all indicative of the extent and severity of oppression, deprivation and violence to which the Tamil people in Sri Lanka are subjected.

When a Cabinet Minister of the Sri Lankan government, Mr Gamini Dissanayake, publicly and openly declares that the blood of every Tamil (3 million) will be sacrificed to the country in four minutes in the event India were to intervene, and when the President himself threatens a repetition of the July 1983 anti-Tamil violence if the Muslims and Tamils continue with their campaign against employing the services of the Israeli Secret Service, they betray an attitude of mind which is essentially genocidal in character.

From all the evidence of the events of the last three and a half decades, that irresistable conclusion is that the Tamil people in Sri Lanka are being subjected to the crime of g nocide.

'HUMAN RIGHTS ARE TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT

MINISTER TELLS PRESIDENT

Chief guest President J.R. Jayewardene had to listen to some home-truths when he attended the 28th Convention of the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) at the Ramakrishna Hall, Wellawatte, Colombo, on September 16.

Although CWC President and Minister S. Thondaman was ingratiating enough to President Jayewardene, asserting that it is 'only in your period that a healthy solution to the ethnic problem can be found,' he could not keep down the sharp criticism of the President and his government from other CWC officials and delegates.

Particularly sharp was the speech of Mr Jaya Peri Sunderam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and of delegates from the floor. Minister Thondaman himself could not keep a critical and disappointed note out of his speech.

All these criticisms were made in the presence of fraternal delegates from the ICFTU.

Describing the situation that the plantation workers and people of Sri Lanka face after seven years of a government of which he is a prominent Minister, Mr Thondaman said:

'The cold-blooded massacre of the innocent, the emergence of the cult of brutality, the degradation of moral values, is ripping apart the very fabric of our society.

'Human rights are trampled under foot and a wave of bitterness is sweeping the land'.

He also mentioned that the CWC was meeting in a situation of 'national tragedy. Lives are being daily lost and so much innocent blood is being shed.'

Security

Commenting on the President's statement that 90,000 stateless plantation workers of Indian origin would soon become citizens of Sri Lanka, Mr Thondaman said that security, rather than citizenship, was the main concern of the stateless workers today.

He asked what good was citizenship, if these people were to continue to be exposed to the loss of life, employment and property every two or three years.

The arrests of numbers of young plantation workers as 'terrorists' suspects' was adding to the sense of insecurity on the plantations.

The plantation system today, said Mr Thondaman, continues despite some changes, basically on the lines of the 'highly authoritarian structure of labour relations and a super-exploitation of the workers', that prevailed in colonial times.

Describing the conditions of life of plantation workers, the Minister said:

'The bulk of estate workers still live in crowded 10 feet by 12 feet enclosures covered by a zinc roof, often exposed to the elements, in primitive squalor in much the same way their forefathers lived, or even worse.

'Community facilities are insignificant. Low wages have resulted in malnutrition, stunting, high infant mortality, and slow death.' (*Island*, 17/9)

'HUMAN RIGHTS ARE BEING TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT AND A NEW WAVE OF BITTERNESS IS SWEEPING THE LAND'
— Mr Thonadaman

Explaining why his organisation, although part of the government, had been compelled to join the general strike of plantation workers for higher pay, Mr Thondaman said that it had 'no alternative'.

'The wage increase that was accorded to the plantation workers between 1977–1980 was soon eroded by rising prices and by 1982 the real income had gone down below the 1977 level . . . By early 1984 a critical stage has been reached.' (Ibid.)

Unhelpful

With regard to the committee appointed after the strike was called off to recommend, within a stipulated period of time, wage increases for plantation workers — a comittee of which Mr Thondaman himself is a member — the Minister said:

'I regret to say that the representatives of the two corporations are not adopting a helpful attitude to work out a just wage for the plantation workers, and therefore the report is being delayed.'

Mr Thondaman, however, was careful not to draw attention to the fact that the Minister in charge of the two plantation corporations that he criticised is none other than President J.R. Jayewardene!

Whilst saying that the plight of the

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ARMY ATROCITIES ON THE INCREASE
RAMPAGE OF MURDER & ARSON

Reports of widespread rampages by the army in the Tamil areas and particularly in the northern Jaffna district and the eastern Batticaloa district are reaching us almost daily. These reports indicate a new level in the campaign of arson and murder, increasing in its scale, intensity and brutality ever since the last week of October.

It is no longer a case of random shooting and isolated acts of arson by indisciplined sections of the army.

The widespread nature of the incidents, and the number of the personnel involved including senior officers, demonstrate a cold and deliberate policy of extermination put into practice. The choice that the government offers through this policy is either submit to state terrorism or be exterminated.

Too numerous

The atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan armed forces during three weeks from the end of October are too numerous and horrendous to itemise individually. For the record a few of them are reported below.

★ Two Tamil youths were shot and killed by the army along Palaly Road on 28.10.84.

★ Three Tamil youths were shot and killed in Tellipalai on 29.10.84. On the same day, the army chased the people on the main road leading to Jaffna from Kokuyvil and Kondavil, collected the bicycles, piled them up, trucks were driven over the pile and it was then set on fire. Under cover of an intensive search operation in various parts of Jaffna, army personnel looted jewellery, money and other valuables from homes.

★ The shelling of coastal areas from the sea continued and in 29.10.84 several houses were damaged in Mathagal.

★ Several fishing boats were taken away by naval personnel from the fishing village of Chillalai. Many families have taken refuge in nearby churches.

★ The Hindu priest of Murugamoorthy temple in Mathagal and several youths were 'taken for questioning' and their whereabouts is not known.

★ A unit of the army which boarded the train in Jaffna to travel to Colombo on 1.11.84 continuously fired through the windows on either side of the train until they reached Kodikamam. They fired directly into houses and at passers-by all along the way. As a result, two persons were killed, one at Meesalai, and the other at Punkankulam, several injured and houses damaged.

★ On 2.11.84, the army went on a rampage following a mine explosion in which two army vehicles were damaged. In the course of the rampage, eight Tamil civilians were killed and several injured, one person by the name of N. Velupillai was burnt alive. As there were no houses near the scene of the mine explosion, the army drove through Atchuveli and Thondamanaru, setting ablaze over 60 houses. Many of the houses were looted of their valuables by army personnel before they were set on fire.

Fifteen houses were looted and later burnt down in Urelu. A grape farm containing 2,500 plants was reduced to ashes. At Urumpirai, eight houses were looted by army personnel and then set ablaze. At least about 50 persons are reported to have been killed or seriously injured. This included Tharmakulasingam of Urumpirai, Kanthasamy and his son Thevakumar of Urelu, Shanthan (23) and many others.

Two Muslim youths were shot by the army — Aziz Amjad of Jaffna died on the spot and Abdul Cafoor was seriously injured.

★ Several houses were set on fire by the army in Karaveddy.

★ On 6.11.84, three Tamil youths were shot by the army in Urumpirai, two of them died on the spot and the other was seriously injured.

Eight Tamils were shot and killed in Mullaitheevu on 6.11.84 by the army in the course of a large-scale search operation.

★ Following a shoot-out between the army and Tamil militants on 9.11.84 in Jaffna city, the army went on a rampage indiscriminately shooting at civilians, killing 10 people and injuring 45 persons. Those killed included Saravanamuthu (46), Manoharan (19), a boy of 12, Kulendran (29) and Jeyakumar (22).

★ Army personnel going in a jeep threw acid at Selvarani, an undergraduate girl at the University of Jaffna as she was walking to attend lectures. She is badly injured and was admitted to Jaffna Hospital.

★ Several Hindu temples have been raided by the army in the Jaffna district.

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plantation workers today was directly due to their 'exclusion from the political process in 1947', Mr Thondaman also forgot to mention that it was the UNP government of which Mr J.R. Jayewardene was then a prominent member which was responsible for this 'exclusion' which, he claimed, had led to these workers having only one representative (himself) in Parliament when their numbers warranted 10.

Political observers comment that the CWC convention reflected the growing restiveness of its members at the failure of government, of which Mr Thondaman is a member, to find an adequate solution to their immense and growing problems. While not prepared to take the CWC and himself out of the government, Mr Thondaman has, nevertheless, been compelled to reflect the bitterness felt by his members.

MINISTER THREATENS GOVT. OFFICIALS

The Minister of National Security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, has issued a new circular which states that government officials in the Tamil northern and eastern provinces, particularly in the Batticaloa, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar and Jaffna districts, would be held liable personally for any loss or theft of any property belonging to the government. In the event, any loss or theft, whether any official is suspected or not, would mean automatic suspension from service without any inquiry whatsoever.

This measure would no doubt operate mainly against those officials in the north and east who mainly happen to be Tamils. The trade unions have protested against the minister's new draconian measure.

SCHOOL LAND FOR POLICE STATION

Residents of the northern coastal town of Valvettiturai have mounted a protest campaign against the government's confiscation of land belonging to the people of the area. The land is being confiscated to enlarge and extend the Valvettiturai police station and army camp.

If the confiscation of the land goes ahead, 67 families would be affected.

Part of the land proposed to be confiscated incorporates the playground of Chithampara College, a leading school in the area. Teachers and parents are terrified at the proposal

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SRI LANKA – A BASE FOR CIA, MOSSAD & VOA

A Political Commentary by Chānakyan

DAVID MATNAI has gone and AZRAIL KARNI has arrived in Sri Lanka last month to be the permanent head of the Israeli interests section in Sri Lanka and to direct Mossad activities.

In a cavalier display of supreme Zionist arrogance, Matnai, before he left, delivered a below-the-belt blow to his hosts, by way of a bull in a china shop interview given to the 'Island'. While President Jayewardene was straining every sinew to tell the world that Sri Lanka was forced to bring the Israelis in because India had lobbied and thwarted other sources of assistance coming to Sri Lanka, Matnai spilled the beans by disclosing that even before the July 1983 riots the Sri Lankan government had been brokering for a honeymoon with Israel.

'The Economist' disclosed the identity of the broker. It was President Reagan's special envoy, General Walters, who had acted as the 'marriage broker' and drafted the agreements, one signed between Sri Lanka and Israel and the other between Israel and the USA.

Costly cup of tea

It must be recalled that at the time it happened, the Government and its kept press described General Walters' visit as a routine stop in Sri Lanka en route from Pakistan to the Maldives, during which he had 'a cup of tea' with President Jayewardene. It certainly must have been the most expensive cup of tea in the world with ex-police superintendent Mahath throwing all his experience from the Internal Security Division (ISD — Sri Lanka's equivalent of the CIA) to provide the highest possible security at the airport and half a dozen helicopters flying General Walters and his men 25 miles away to the President's house and back — all within a space of three hours!

Perhaps the most painful Matnai thrust on President Jayewardene was that the Israelis accepted the Sri Lankan honeymoon because they had no foothold in Asia since being expelled from the continent and they had seized the opportunity provided by the Jayewardene government to re-establish their presence in Asia. In other words, Israel was interested in the dowry and not the damsel!

The Israel–Sri Lanka honeymoon has just started and already poor Junius Jayewardene and his sabre-rattling bunch of ministers are in excruciating pain, thanks to Matnai.

Now Matnai and Walters are out of the spotlight and enter Azrail Karni and Richard Murphy!

Azrail Karni is operating from three suites at the super luxury Liberty Plaza at Colpetty, where the Israeli interests section and Mossad had to beat a retreat after Tamil Liberation fighters bombed Hotel Lanka Oberoi, which housed their initial command centre. Karni, 61 years old, is a senior Israeli diplomat, counting a speciality in Asian affairs and State terrorism!

Murphy's clandestine mission

Close on the heels of Karni came to Colombo another 'heavyweight' — Richard W. Murphy, an assistant secretary of the US State Department, who heads the South Asia and Near East sections. A senior US diplomat, counting wide experience and expertise in Middle East and Asian affairs, Murphy had served as political and economic counsellor in several Arab and Asian countries, and later as Ambassador in Syria, Saudi Arabia and the Philippines.

If General Walters came to have 'a cup of tea', Murphy had come 'to participate in the dedication of the new Chancery of the US Embassy in Colombo'. That's what the Colombo dead ropes said!

Countering India

The Murphy mission appeared have two distinct objectives.

Murphy presided in Colombo over a strategic conclave of all US Ambassadors in the region of South Asia to co-ordinate US schemes for the region. And, what were these schemes!

A report from Ron Tempest to the LOS ANGELES TIMES, quoted in the SUN (29.11.84), stated that the conference in Colombo of US ambassadors of the states of the Indian sub-continent, presided over by Mr Murphy, had as its 'central concern' India's increasingly dominant role in South Asia 'and how to counter it'! How President Jayewardene's Sri Lanka readily obliges!

Murphy also attempted to play down to selected media men in Colombo, but not to deny statements made earlier on by Dean Hinton, US envoy in Pakistan, that the US would back dictator Zia ul-Haq's military regime at Rawalpindi (not surprising, as most military dictatorship in the world have the Eagle's backing) in any armed conflict with (the late) Mrs Indira Gandhi's government.

Now working overtime in Pakistan, he has brazenly dropped even the customary US pretence that arming of Pakistan is directed against the Soviet threat in Afghanistan or the bogey of an attack on Pakistan by Afghanistan, thereby acknowledging the fact that the target is India. It is also during Hinton's patronage of Pakistan that the Sikh armed attacks in Amritsar and the stockpiling of weapons in the Golden Temple reached their peak, ultimately leading to the cold-blooded murder of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

Preparing plans for the assassination of political leaders whom they do not like has been a traditional pastime of the CIA, the latest exercise being the production of a manual of terrorism, techniques of assassination, etc., for use by the Contras who sympathise with the ousted Nicaraguan dictator Somoza against the Sandinist leaders of socialist Nicaragua.

The timing of the Colombo conclave less than a fortnight before the assassination of Mrs Gandhi and its main item on the agenda, do raise some eyebrows when taken together with the fact that Murphy had given a pat on the back to Hinton in Colombo by describing him as a 'very responsible and diligent diplomat'

Full DPL status for Israel

The second purpose of Murphy's visit to Sri Lanka was to wield the whip against Junius Jayewardene's regime vis-a-vis the originally agreed scheme to grant the Israelis full diplomatic status at the level of an embassy in Sri Lanka.

Junius had been hedging this promise and keeping the Israelis at 'Interests section' level, owing to the overwhelming hostility of the Arab states.

Sri Lanka's charge d'affaires in **Saudi Arabia** was summoned to its Foreign Office and given a tongue lashing. Saudi Arabia had refused to sign the promised protocol to donate 171 million Saudi Riyals to provide funds for the right bank development

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scheme for the Maduru Oya project. Saudi funds expected to bridge budgetary deficits in Sri Lanka were also not forthcoming. Saudi Arabia was also refusing to accept a new Sri Lankan ambassador and shelved its plans to open a Consulate in Colombo. **Iraq**, Sri Lanka's most important Arab tea buyer, had downgraded its representation in Sri Lanka and was getting ready to call off all Sri Lankan imports and other Arab states were to follow suit. **Egypt** had kept away from Sri Lankan tea auctions. **Kuwait** and some other Arab states have either halted or tailed off the recruitment of Sri Lankan labour, now totalling over 300,000 in the Middle East and accounting for over 6 billion Sri Lankan rupees in foreign exchange every year, the second highest foreign exchange earner for Sri Lanka after tea exports.

The **Jordanian** Foreign Minister has warned his Sri Lankan counterpart to reconsider the Israeli connection. **Iran** had recalled its newly appointed Ambassador to Sri Lanka while en route from Bombay. Urged by **Syria** and the **PLO**, the **OPEC** oil ministers were contemplating punitive measures against Sri Lanka.

It is understood that President Junius has been told in no uncertain terms that the US will not tolerate any more vacillation on the part of Sri Lanka in elevating the status of Israelis in Sri Lanka. The anxiety of the US is understandable, as revealed by a despatch in ARABIA (August, 1984): 'Apparently, the US does not want to be openly involved in the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict. It has therefore encouraged Israel, its protege, to act on its behalf . . . The Israeli Foreign Minister David Kimche visited Washington in May (1984) and was given an assurance that the Reagan administration would encourage the Israeli presence in Sri Lanka, Kenya, Liberia and Bolivia. US Congressman Howard Berman has even put forward a bill proposing that the administration give $20 million to Israel to fund its foreign projects.'

Annexure C: US Sabotage?

Another interesting comment made by Murphy to selected mediamen in Colombo was that the US was thankful to President Jayewardene for allowing its warships free use of Sri Lanka's ports.

The ISLAND (28.10.84) quoted Mr Murphy as saying that the 'US does not want bases in the South Asian region' because 'the defence strategies of the United States do not necessitate such bases' and that 'bases at times were a liability'.

What Mr Murphy was trying to say was that 'Diego Garcia' and 'Boddam' in the Indian Ocean and other permanent US bases in South Asia were sufficient for the moment for the US and what they were shopping around were for ports in that region for refuelling, servicing and other supplies for their warships and submarines.

That explains why the Reagan administration had opposed 'Annexure C' being accepted at the Round Table Conference in Sri Lanka and forced Junius Jayewardene to jettison it.

In the course of his testimony in August 1984 before the joint meeting of the sub-committee of the US House of Representatives on Asian Affairs and on Human Rights, Mr Howard B.S. Schaffer, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, had stated that India had sought to play a helpful role in the Sri Lanka situation, and had lauded the efforts made by Mrs Indira Gandhi but qualified it by saying that the US government had not endorsed all the Indian efforts and cited the 'Annexure C' proposal virtually mooted by India, paving the way for the grouping together of district councils to form a provincial council.

That suggests that the messy hands of 'Uncle Sam' had stretched out to the All Party Conference in Colombo, because in terms of 'Annexure C' Trincomalee and its harbour would fall within the administration of the Tamils, who were wiser to the wiles of 'Uncle Sam' than 'Dirty Dick'.

Sri Lanka – biggest VOA outside USA

When the BLITZ first reported, complete with the strength of the transmitters, a few months back, on the magnitude of the Voice of America (VOA) transmissions due to commence from Sri Lanka, there were quite a few who refused to swallow it as a bitter pill of sensationalism!

Now it has come straight from the 'horse's mouth'!

Mr Richard Murphy boasted to Sri Lankan media men in Colombo last month that the VOA station to be set up in Sri Lanka 'would be the biggest VOA station outside the United States'.

This is the station from which anti-Tamil and anti-Indian broadcasts are to be beamed to the Asian continent! This is the station from which calumny, subterfuge, and subversion is going to be transmitted to destabilise India, and thereby pave the way for the militarisation of the Indian Ocean region!

According to the agreement signed between Junius Jayewardene and the VOA, the 1,000 acres on which the VOA station will be built will be virtually USA territory in Sri Lanka. All US technicians and broadcasters working at the VOA will have DPL status and be immune from the normal laws of the land. Their equipment and personal belongings will be waived of customs duties and other taxes.

The sophisticated broadcasting and receiving equipment that will be brought into Sri Lanka will be immune from inspection by Sri Lanka, leaving the US to use it as it wishes against any country in Asia, whether it is Sri Lanka's friend or foe.

The equipment could also be used freely for co-ordinating communication with the US Sixth Fleet, in whatever action it might be involved in against whichever country in the region.

It is understood that negotiations are now going on between the VOA and the Sri Lankan Government to amend the Sri Lankan laws suitably to enable the VOA to acquire outright ownership of the 1,000 acres on which the station is to be situated, to prevent Sri Lanka from ever repossessing the land or inspecting what goes on there.

CIA man — VOA head

It is also not merely incidental that the new director of the VOA appointed by the Reagan administration is Eugene Pell, a diehard antagonist of the socialist and developing countries, a very close associate of the CIA, who has experience in interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, a master in promoting hostility between states, an expert adept in the art of disinformation, and a specialist in destabilisation and subversion of governments.

The curious development in Sri Lankan politics is that, under the pressure of the struggle forced upon them against an ever increasing oppression and state terror, the Tamils who had all along been regarded as 'traditionalists' and 'conservative oriented' are becoming more and more radicalised and forging alliances with progressive forces while the Sinhalese amongst whom the left movement has had deep roots, are capitulating to and becoming pawns of the forces of international reaction and subversion.

THE LONDON TAMIL CONGREGATION
Christmas Carol Service
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Watch Night Service
Monday 31st December 1984 at 11pm
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OPEN LETTERS (1) TO THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Dear Mr Athulathmudali,

INTERVIEW WITH 'THE HINDU'

I read your rather extensive interview with Mr N. Ram, the correspondent of 'The Hindu' (Sept 19, 1984). You have given this interview in your capacity as the Minister of National Security in President Jayawardene's Cabinet in the course of which you touched on many topics. I also note that you have of late become the chief spokesman for the government not only on matters of national security but on every subject including the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

I presume you have been selected for this task because of your ability to conceal the crude chauvinistic positions of the government with a superficial layer, although quite transparent, of intellectual justification. I am sure, despite donning the garb of a Sinhala nationalist, your education at Oxford assists you in this rather dubious role.

Mr Minister, you seem to complain about the area around the central highland city of Kandy being shown as a Tamil area in a map published in an Indian weekly. Why? Apparently because the Kandyan areas have traditionally been inhabited by Sinhalese, although at present the majority of the people living in areas around Kandy like Nuwara Eliya Gampala, Pusselawe and Hatton are Tamils working in the tea plantations.

Most of them have lived in these areas for over a century. If this reasoning is right, then why do you, like other Sinhala extremist leaders, object to areas like Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Amparai, which have traditionally and predominantly been occupied by Tamil speaking people, being called Tamil areas?

Historical fact

Is it not a fact that the northern and eastern provinces have always been regarded, referred to and known as Tamil areas (Demala Pradesha)? Was it not a historical fact that the Sinhala leaders of the Ceylon National Congress refused a seat for the Tamils in Colombo in 1921 on the basis that the Tamils have their seats in the Tamil-speaking provinces, thus causing the split in the CNC and the departure of its founder President, Sir P. Arunachalam? The present President himself recognised the northern and eastern provinces as Tamil areas when he said in the course of his speech in the State Council on May 24, 1944, 'I had always the intention that Tamil should be spoken in the Tamil-speaking provinces, and that Tamil should be the official language in the Tamil-speaking provinces.'

If there were 'Tamil-speaking provinces' in 1944, have they now ceased to exist as such?

Of course, having deprived the Tamil language of its official status through the Sinhala Only Act of 1956, and having progressively followed a deliberate policy of colonising traditional Tamil areas of the north and east with Sinhalese brought from outside, the next logical step for people like you and other Sinhala chauvinists is to deny and deprive the Tamil character of the northern and eastern provinces through a process of accelerated Sinhala state-aided colonisation.

'Sri Lanka belongs to all Sri Lankans, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims' seem on the face of it a laudable and non-chauvinistic principle. It gives a veneer of respectability to the naked state-aided Sinhala aggression into traditional Tamil territory.

Plantation Tamils

If you are genuine, Mr Minister, why do you and your government not allocate lands in the irrigation schemes like the Gal Oya, Maduru Oya and Mahaveli projects to the thousands and thousands of plantation Tamils who suffer without work on the tea estates? Even when these plantation Tamils, driven out of the estates by Sinhala racist goons, go and settle in areas like Vavuniya, Mannar, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee, why do you, Mr Minister, authorise your armed forces to burn their settlements, destroy their huts and cultivation and forcibly evict, transport and dump them in the middle of nowhere?

Even as I write this letter, large tracts of land in the predominantly Tamil district of Vavuniya are being cleared of Tamils to facilitate Sinhala colonisation! What you and your government are up to is to undermine the numerical strength of the Tamil people even in their traditional homelands to achieve the diabolical design of subjugating them.

Mr Minister, in your interview you also contended that you favoured District Councils as the basic unit of decentralisation instead of Regional Councils based on provincial demarcation, because 'districts, by and large, express a reality much better than the provinces'.

It is your President Jayewardene who co-authored 'Annexure C' which provided for Regional Councils as the unit of devolution. When the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) refused to participate in the All Party Conference on the ground that 'Annexure C' fell short of their demand for a single united Regional Council for the northern and eastern provinces, it was your President who persuaded the TULF to participate in Conference promising that TULF's demand could also be discussed at the Conference.

What did your President do once the APC started? He unceremoniously jettisoned 'Annexure C', thus adding himself to the notorious line-up of Sinhala leaders who had acquired a remarkable record for dishonouring agreements and undertakings which they had solemnly signed.

Mr Minister, the arguments you put against decentralisation on a provincial basis is truly ingenious — people in the north and east are not homogenous; they are divided into Tamils, Muslims, Catholics, Christians and Hindus; some people are educationally developed and others are backward; Sinhalese are also living in these areas in considerable numbers; in Mannar, the Muslims and Sinhalese constitute 40 per cent and there is a Catholic majority; in Vavuniya, the Tamils are 50 per cent and Sinhalese are 20 per cent. (This is in fact not correct — according to the 1981 census, 76 per cent are Tamil speaking and 16 per cent are Sinhalese.) In short, therefore, provincial-wise decentralisation is not realistic!

Substantial number

Mr Minister, unlike you and many of your 'Sinhala-Buddhist' leaders, who use the expressions 'Sinhala' and 'Buddhist' interchangeably or to denote the ethno-religious grouping of Sinhala-Buddhists, ignoring the fact that there are a substantial number of Catholics and Christians among the Sinhalese, the Tamil people regard all those who speak the Tamil language as 'Tamil speaking people'; and this expression included the Hindus, Muslims, Catholics, Christians and in fact atheists too.

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It is also a fact that the Muslim population of the north and the east, and for that matter, the substantial majority of those Muslims who live outside these areas are all Tamil speaking. In spite of the aggressive implementation of the policy of colonising Tamil areas with Sinhalese, the Tamil speaking people of the north and east constitute over 85 per cent of the population in these provinces.

The case for autonomy for the north and east arises from the discrimination and oppression of the Tamil speaking people irrespective of their religious persuasions.

When Sinhala was made the official language it disadvantaged all the Tamil speaking people including the Muslims. When lands in the north and east are colonised by Sinhalese brought from outside, it affects the Tamils and Muslims alike. When Sinhala racist violence is let loose, it does not discriminate or differentiate between Tamil Hindus and Tamil Catholics or Christians.

Discrimination

The discrimination in education and employment is faced equally by all members of the Tamil speaking community. When the state security forces go on their regular and repeated rampages of murder and arson, the entire Tamil speaking community, whether they be Muslims, Tamils, Hindus, Catholics or Christians become victims.

The demand for autonomy for the northern and eastern provinces is based on the fundamental principle that the Tamil speaking people have an inalienable right to preserve, protect and promote their linguistic and cultural heritage and identity in a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural Sri Lanka.

It is the failure to recognise this basic democratic principle by successive Sinhala-Buddhist dominated governments and the basic fallacy that the Sinhala-Buddhists have a pre-ordained right of linguistic, religious, cultural and territorial domination throughout Sri Lanka which are the root causes for the present crisis that afflicts the country.

Mr Minister, I will deal with your role as Minister of National Security, the role of your armed forces and other matters you have touched upon during your interview in my next letter.

R. SHANTHI

Colombo 4,
30.10.84

'TAMIL REFUGEES WILL BE ARRESTED ON ARRIVAL' — MINISTER

All Tamil refugees returning to Sri Lanka from countries where their request for refugee status had been refused would be arrested on arrival in Colombo, the Sri Lankan Minister of National Security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali told a press conference in Colombo on October 4.

The Minister, in answer to specific questions from reporters about the decision of the Swiss authorities to repatriate to Sri Lanka about 1,700 Tamils who had sought refuge in Switzerland, said that 'if necessary we will arrest the refugees returning from Switzerland on arrival at Colombo Airport'. The Minister's menacing threat contradicts the hypocritical claim of the Sri Lankan Ambassador in Geneva, Mr Jayantha Dhanapala, who had previously told the media that the returning Tamils need not entertain any fear of action by Sri Lankan authorities.

The thousands of Tamils, particularly youths who are in countries like West Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and the UK, fled from Sri Lanka due to the continuing repression, arbitrary arrests, detention and torture to which Tamils are subjected. International human rights bodies like Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists have documented gross violations of basic human rights including indiscriminate killing of Tamil civilians.

The decision of the Swiss authorities to deny refugee status to the Tamils in this context has been roundly condemned by human rights organisations. They have pointed out that the Swiss government would be knowingly sending Tamils to Sri Lanka to be arrested, tortured and even killed, in violation of the 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugees.

The Swiss government's move is all the more incomprehensible in the context of the statement of Mr Rudoph Friedrich, the Minister of Justice, which conceded 'one cannot guarantee that they (Tamils) would not be in danger if they return'. Mr Kistler of the Swiss Federal Department of Justice and Police said: 'We have to be sure in each individual case, however, that persons being sent back are not exposed to danger. We do realise that the situation in Sri Lanka is unstable and that there is local repression.'

In addition to the continuing campaign by human rights bodies against the decision of the Swiss government, several hundred Tamils fasted in protest in a church in Berne, where the largest number of Tamil refugees are housed.

The Sri Lanka Solidarity Committee based in Geneva, Caritas and the Swiss League for Human Rights are leading the campaign to obtain the reversal of the government's decision.

PARALLEL ADMINISTRATION

The Tamils in the Northern Province lived in a fear psychosis and a sense of military occupation, said a group of Sinhala intellectuals in a report published in the Sri Lankan newspaper ISLAND. During their visit to the Jaffna district the group observed that the Northern inhabitants were beginning to reconsider their attitude in relation to the role of the militant youth since the government had weakened the legitimacy of the moderate Tamil leadership by delaying a political settlement.

In their report, the Sinhala members of the Committee for Rational Development (CRD) also spoke of the emergence of 'a parallel administration by the Tamil youth in Jaffna' and noted that the common man was increasingly relying on this new power. 'This cannot be destroyed by military operations.'

'It is now apparent that the crisis in our society which manifested itself in July 1983 has reached a level where unarmed, innocent and uninvolved citizens are being increasingly engulfed by indiscriminate violence.' Conveying to fellow Sinhalese the perceptions of the Tamils, the group remarked that to the casual visitor life in Jaffna seemed to go on in a normal manner, but the more discerning visitor soon observes certain peculiarities in the people's behaviour.

SAY IT IN SINHALA

The Tamil village of Vepankulam situated in he Cheddikulam Asst. Govt. Agents' Division in the northern province has been renamed by the government of Sri Lanka. Hereafter, the village will be called KOHOBEGASWEWE.

This type of 'Sinhalisation' has been going on ever since 1948 particularly in the Tamil-dominated eastern province. In Batticaloa, Amparai and Trincomalee districts, hundreds of place names have been subject to 'Sinhalisation' over the years. Now the process is being accelerated even in the northern province.

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STATE TERRORISM CONTINUES

SUKHRAN'S DIARY OF THE OCCUPIED TAMIL AREAS

SEPTEMBER 24, 1984

PENSIONERS PUNISHED: Pensioners from the Achchuvely, Valvettiturai and Kankesanthurai areas queued up from the early hours of dawn at the Jaffna esplanade to collect their pensions. By mid-morning the rain came down in torrents drenching the hundreds of old men and women. The shivering pensioners did not budge from the queues and stood there till noon when the payment of pensions commenced. This was the result of the government suspending pension payments from sub-post offices in these areas.

EXTORTION BY TROOPS: Government troops arrived at the Point Pedro bazaar. They burst into textile stores, helped themselves to items they fancied and walked out. They entered restaurants, ate whatever they liked and walked out. No bills. No payments. The shopowners' association of Point Pedro lodged a complaint with the Assistant Government Agent of Point Pedro about this extortion and robbery.

STUDENTS BOYCOTT: Students of schools in and around the Point Pedro area began a boycott of schools today demanding the withdrawal of the armed forces from buildings they had commandeered in the immediate vicinity of schools, from where they were launching attacks on schoolboys. The boycott would continue till the demand was met.

VAVUNIYA UNDER SIEGE: There is great tension prevailing in Vavuniya. The little town goes dead shortly after noon. All shops close at this time. After the schoolchildren pass through the town at 2pm, it gives the appearance of a haunted town. Government employees working in Vavuniya are badly hit because all restaurants and even small tea kiosks close at noon. People fear an impending army rampage.

MULLAITIVU 'UNDER OCCUPATION': There is near pandemonium in the village of Mullaitivu following extensive combing out operations by the army. Roads are deserted throughout the day. Security personnel numbering about 100, arrived in buses and occupied three schools in Puthu Kudiiruppu and Mullaitivu on 24th September 1984. In the night, they made a rigorous search in the area. About 400 youths were taken in for questioning by the army to the camps erected at Mulliyawallai and Mullaitivu, and the residents were harassed under the pretext of search. All Tamil youth in the hamlet of Puthu Kudiiruppu have been rounded up by the troops and taken away for 'questioning.' Seven Tamils from a farm in Mullaitivu were killed and their bodies had been burnt, presumably to destroy their identity.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1984

MOTHERS BREAK DOWN: Sixty-seven mothers representing the hundreds of mothers whose children had been taken captive by the security forces met Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne, commanding the security forces in the Jaffna district. The Tamil Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr M. Panchalingam, had arranged this meeting. The mothers broke down and wept unashamedly as they pleaded with the Brigadier to arrange for the release of their innocent children. The meeting took place at a school building at Palaly. Some government officials (Tamils) present at the meeting were seen to be moved to tears at the heart-rending pleas of the depressed and broken down women.

MONEY ORDERS STOPPED: The government has suspended the issue of money orders from all Post Offices in the Jaffna district, causing great hardships to people.

MANNAR STUDENTS PROTEST: All students from the Mannar District have been boycotting classes for the last two days protesting against harassment of schoolboys by the security forces.

RIVER OF BLOOD: Sarath Mulletuwegama, Communist MP for Kalawana, spoke at length in Parliament protesting against the atrocities being committed on the Tamil people by the security forces. A river of blood is flowing in the North, asserted the MP. The massacre of the Tamils in the North resembled the massacre of the Palestinians on Arab soil by Israel. A military solution was not the answer to the problems of the Tamils. That would destroy the whole country.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1984

150 YOUTH CAPTURED: In besieged Mullaitivu, the army carried out a house-to-house search in the hamlets of Kumunaimunai, Thannerootru and Alambil and rounded up all Tamil youth, numbering 150. They were taken to army camps.

COMMANDOS NEAR LADIES COLLEGE: The TULF President, Mr M. Sivasithamparam has sent a telegram to President Jayawardene asking him to move out the police commandos who had gone into a building adjoining the Methodist Ladies College and Hartley College in the Point Pedro area.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1984

FIRE ENGINE – NO DUTY RELIEF: President Jayawardene's regime has refused to grant tax relief for the fire engine to be imported to Jaffna from the UK at £57,000 to cover cost and freight. Following repeated acts of arson by the security forces over the last few years the city of Jaffna went ablaze several times. The Jaffna local council, unable to persuade the Government to supply a fire engine for Jaffna, raised donations from the people of Jaffna totalling £57,000. It was expected that the Government would waive the customs duty of £15,000 for the import. But that was not to be. Now the public of Jaffna are making more donations to cover the import duty.

MOURNING MOTHERS – MARAUDING TROOPS: About 200 wailing mothers (Tamils) from the Mullaitivu district invade the Government Secretariat at Mullaitivu asking the Government Agent to take steps to restore to them their children who had been captured and taken away by the security forces. The Government Agent (Tamil) had already proceeded to Colombo on the previous day to

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make representations about the captured children. The mothers made representations to his deputy. Meanwhile, more hamlets in the Mullaitivu district are being scoured by the troops, with more children being taken captive.

PANIC AT KEERIMALAI: Panic and frenzy prevailed at the shrine area of Keerimalai as Government troops began a house-to-house search. The search extended to the Kadduvan and Myliddy areas in particular and Kankesanthurai in general.

PANDEMONIUM AT PUNGANKULAM: A massive convoy of army vehicles proceeding along the Jaffna–Kandy road, covered by overflying helicopters, came to a halt suddenly at the Pungankulam Railway Station, sending the people of the area running helter skelter for safety fearing an impending army rampage. But it proved to be a false alarm, as the convoy had stopped to change a deflated tyre of one of the vehicles.

COASTAL SHELLING: The shelling of the coastal fishing villages of the Point Pedro district from the sea by the Sri Lankan Navy continues unabated. Fishermen in this area have not gone out fishing for the last two months out of fear and their families are virtually starving.

EXAMS? COME TO COLOMBO: The viva voce examination for the candidates who appeared for the English teachers training certificate final examination of the Jaffna Technical Institute at Kondavil is to be held in Colombo, it was announced today. For the past several years these interviews had been held in Jaffna. It is feared that many of the candidates (Tamils) may not undertake the hazardous trip to Colombo out of fear and due to the continued curtailment of regular public transport to Colombo.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1984

MORE SHELLING: More shelling from the sea by the Sri Lanka Navy has been reported from the coastal villages of Polykandy and Thikkam. The shelling has shaved off the tops of several palmyrah palms. Fishermen from these areas have not gone to sea for several weeks and their families have been in dire straits.

TERROR AT POINT PEDRO: Sheer pandemonium reigned at Point Pedro when an army convoy arrived, emptying several rounds of sub-machine gun fire into the skies. People abandoned their homes and fled hither and thither to save their lives. It is reported that a large number of Tamil youth were captured by the army and taken away.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1984

ARMY KIDNAP: On 30th September some army men in civils forcibly took one Sabanathan, the Managing Partner of Neem Rice Mill in Vavuniya, Mannar Road, to the nearby army camp at Eiratperiyakulam, where his hands were tied behind his back and later he was taken to Mr Sittampalam's (Ex-DDC Chairman) house. The army personnel tried to explode a bomb near the house. The person in charge of all these operations had been identified as Major Jayasinghe. As the soldiers could not get the bomb exploded, they turned back and shot at Sabanathan. He sustained injuries to the head and stomach and fell unconscious. The soldiers mistook him for dead and placed a placard stating that he had been executed for providing funds to the Tamil militants and signed it 'Sinhalese Youth'. Even though he sustained serious injuries, he survived. On the same day, two other rice mills belonging to the Tamils were looted, believed to be by the same gang.

OCTOBER 1, 1984

ARMY RAMPAGE AT VAVUNIYA: The residence of the ex-Chairman of the Vavuniya district Development Council, Mr Sittambalam, was attacked and badly damaged for a second time by a group of army men in civils. Mr Sittambalam of the TULF lost his position as DDC Chairman when he refused to take the oath against separation last year. It is noteworthy that Mr Sittambalam's residence was ravaged by marauding troops only a few months back.

OCTOBER 3, 1984

POINT PEDRO ATTACKED: Point Pedro faced yet another blitz by armed forces on the rampage. Last night the residence of the Point Pedro magistrate and buildings belonging to the Customs Department had been attacked. Today several hundreds of troops roamed through Point Pedro. A Tamil youth was shot dead by the troops near the Customs Department. Minor employees working at the Point Pedro Post Office were attacked by troops. Panic and tension prevailed all over. Shops, markets and banks remained closed. Roads remained deserted. Telecommunication links between Jaffna and Point Pedro remained severed.

DISHONOURABLE INSURANCE CORPORATION: The building belonging to the Jaffna United Merchants Association which was set on fire by rampaging troops on April 9 this year had been covered by a comprehensive insurance policy with the state-owned insurance corporation. But the corporation has rejected a claim for payments for the losses incurred. The Board of Directors of the association has taken a decision to file a suit against the Insurance Corporation's decision in courts.

MILL OWNER SHOT: A mill owner in Vavuniya, Mr Sabanathan, who was taken away at gun point by troops, has been admitted to the Jaffna Hospital with gun-shot injuries to his face. He underwent emergency surgery. The troops had shot him through his cheeks and dumped him in a lonely area.

OCTOBER 5, 1984

AVOID NIGHT TRAVEL – LALITH: Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Internal Security, has advised the Tamil people in the north to avoid travelling by night, as it could be dangerous! Danger from whom? Marauding troops?

CORPSES IN THE SEA: Corpses of humans are said to be seen floating in the sea off Delft (an island off the Jaffna mainland). Corpses are seen more or less every day. They fear that the Sri Lankan navy is gunning down lonely fishermen out on the seas.

OCTOBER 7, 1984

SHELLING FROM THE SEA: Fishing families of Tamils living in the coastal villages of Mamunai, Thaalaiady and Chemppianpattu live in the jungles by night and in their villages by day. They no longer go out fishing. From about 10pm in the nights the Navy shells these villages from the sea. Men, women and children, and even pregnant women move over into the jungles by night. When they come back to their huts by day, they see tell-tale marks of the night's shelling on the walls and roofs of their huts.

HARASSMENT TO SEA COMMUTERS: 'Manimegalai' and 'Kumudini', two passenger motorboats plying between Kurikadduvan and the island of Delft were accosted on the sea by the Navy and subject to search for several hours. 'Manimegalai' along with its 100 passengers was later taken to the Navy camp at Kavainagar.

OCTOBER 8, 1984

FISHERMAN SHOT DEAD: fisherman who went to sea at Allaipiddy to catch beche-de-mer abounding in

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the area has been shot and killed by the Navy.

HARTLEY BLITZED AGAIN: Hartley College, Point Pedro, ravaged by the security forces, is reported to have suffered further attacks by marauding troops last night. The damage is being estimated.

OCTOBER 9, 1984

PRINCIPALS MEET BRIGADIER: A delegation of school principals and educationists from the Jaffna district met Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne at the Guru Nagar Army Camp. They lodged an official protest over harassment of schoolboys by the security services, which had led to students keeping away from schools over the past few months. Building contractors were scared to recommence the renovation of Hartley College out of fear of reprisals by the army. The army camp and the police station at Point Pedro, housing commandos, have been set up adjoining Hartley College and Methodist Ladies College and children were scared to attend those schools. The Brigadier said that he would instruct Major Ariyapperuma in charge of Point Pedro regarding renovation work at Hartley. Shifting the police station and army camp at Point Pedro was beyond his powers, he said

OCTOBER 10, 1984

TRAVAILS OF MAGISTRATE: Mr T. Joganathan, Point Pedro's Tamil magistrate who proceeded to Colombo on official business on October 2, came back to Point Pedro today to find the army occupying a part of his official residence, having broken into it. He has reported this matter to the Judicial Service Commission and has alleged theft of household property worth Rs.5,000. He has also protested about being rudely displaced from his residence in such fashion.

STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS, HUNGER STRIKE: Nearly 40,000 students, boys and girls, of the Jaffna district, launched a massive demonstration and protest fast today protesting against army excesses against them. This was the culmination of a series of protest fasts carried out in temples and churches by students of the Point Pedro areas over the last few weeks. The demonstrators, numbering about 5,000, marched serveral miles in procession, shouting militant slogans, to the Jaffna Government Secretariat to meet the Government Agent. They gave details of the harassment meted out to them by the security forces and urged him to take up the matter with the government at the highest level. 'This is the last time we are coming to you to make representations. Our patience is running out. Next time you will not see us. You will see only our corpses,' they declared to the Government Agent.

MORE SHELLING: Several coastal villages in Point Pedro East have been shelled from the sea by the Sri Lankan Navy. The coastal line of the villages of Uduthurai and Aliyavalai show coconut trees standing bold with their heads shaved off by the shelling. People from these villages are now constantly on the run.

OCTOBER 11, 1984

SEARCH AND CAPTURE: The security forces mounted an intensive house-to-house search in the island of Mandaitivu and the villages of Punnalai Kadduvan and Thyiddy and took several Tamil youth as captives. They set fire to a house at Punnalai Kadduvan. Great tension is prevailing in these areas. Weeping mothers of captured children are seen queuing up at the offices of various areas.

VIOLENCE IN JAFFNA: The army went beserk in the Navalar Road, Brown Road and Kasthuriar Road areas, assaulting and injuring innocent civilians on the road. Those assaulted include Balasubramaniam, Visvanathan, Sinnarasa, Devaraja and Thanendran of the Electricity Board who were carrying out repairs in this area and Ravindran, a compositor from the 'Eela Nadu' Tamil daily, all of whom have suffered injuries.

OCTOBER 12, 1984

EDUCATIONISTS MEET LALITH: A delegation of school principals and educationists of the Jaffna district met Mr Athulathmudali, Minister of Internal Security, in Colombo today to make representations to him about army excesses on Tamil students.

SHORTAGE OF DRUGS: There is a desperate shortage of drugs in the Jaffna General Hospital, the premier government hospital of the Northern Province. Patients are returning home empty-handed after being examined by doctors as the dispensary reports virtually all drugs 'out of stock'. Hospital sources said that the government is now expecting the hospital to manage with six months' supply of bandage cloth, probably precipitated by the scale of violence unleashed in the Jaffna District by government troops.

GIRLS TOO CAPTURED: The security forces are now taking away Tamil girls also as captives. In the village of Mayillankadu three young girls have been taken away. At Amirthakali, in the Batticaloa District, in the Eastern Province, Malar, a teenage sister of Poet Kasi Anandan, TULF activist now operating from Madras, has been taken away by the security forces.

OCTOBER 14, 1984

CURFEW IN THE SEA: The government has announced a curfew order for the seas off the Northern Province from 6pm to 6am. Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne had implemented a dusk to dawn curfew in certain areas of the sea off the North for the last two weeks. Minister Athulathmudali has now extended it to the entire Northern Sea. That puts paid to the living of every fisherman in the North of Sri Lanka.

4 NEW ARMY CAMPS: Speaking to a Sinhalese audience at a Public meeting at Tambukkanna in the central Province, Minister Athulathmudali announced plans for a further militarisation of the Tamil homelands in the North. He said that four more army camps would be set up in the North.

NOW – A CO-ORDINATING CTTEE: A co-ordinating committee of all the citizens' committees now functioning in the North was inaugurated in Jaffna. These citizens committees have been necessitated as a result of the TULF, the main political party of the Tamils, being outlawed by the government in August 1983 and all Tamil MPs in the North losing their seats in Parliament.

TROOPS BESERK AT KILINOCHCHI: Security forces went beserk at Karadipoakku Junction at Kilinochchi, assaulting pedestrians in the street and smashing up parked cars, vans and motor-cycles. Several people were injured.

OCTOBER 16, 1984

KOKUVIL UNDER SIEGE: house-to-house search, harassment and assault were carried out by the army at Kokuvil East, plunging the area into panic and tension. Several Tamil youth were taken away as captives.

OCTOBER 17, 1984

LONE BOAT DRIFTS ASHORE: A plastic outboard motorboat was found drifting on the sea off the Northern coastal village of Uduthurai. The fate of the fishermen who went out in the boat is not known.

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'MISDEEDS' OF THE ARMY CULTURAL GENOCIDE

By S. Parthasarathy*

In its long and tragic post-Independence history, the Jaffna Peninsula, in fact, the entire Tamil speaking areas of the North and East of Sri Lanka, have gone through several agonising experiences. But the agony, the privations and the loss of human rights the people of this region have been subjected to in the last two years appear to be among the worst disasters suffered by any people in the world.

There is increasing evidence that violence is on the march in the North and it is no consolation that such violence is a chain reaction — a reaction to the Tamil liberation groups' guerrilla activities somewhere else, or retaliation by the armed forces by taking it on the innocent civilians.

During the last week of September and the early part of this month, even as this correspondent was travelling extensively in the area, the Northern Province had a long tally of 'incidents' where the security forces (according to the victims) unleashed 'unwarranted brutal assaults on innocent people'. The victims, quite a few of whom were met, are aware that the army men characterise the assaults as 'reprisals for the militants' activities like robbing banks and jewellery shops and raiding armouries' but they are unable to recall instances where the armed forces have been able to apprehend the culprit 'boys' and deal with them. 'Instead, only innocent boys are rounded up and either returned later after torture or done away with,' they noted.

The determined hard-core liberation 'boys' never get caught, said a senior Government official who is naturally not in a position that allows him to be identified. Even in rare instances where some 'boys' get caught, they consume the cyanide they carry with them and put an end to themselves, he observed.

Travelling by the only train operating to Jaffna, this correspondent saw virtually all the passengers getting tense as the train crossed into the Tamil areas. Military men in uniform, tough-looking guys with their loaded weapons in ready-to-shoot condition, spread themselves through the compartments. In fact, it looked like entering another country with the uniformed men getting hold of passengers at random and demanding a look at their identity cards.

Indignity

At the Jaffna Railway Station as the day was wearing away, the crowd surging out of the platform was huge but none could escape the gaze; the attention and perhaps the wrath of the security forces. Jaffna town itself looks to a casual visitor normal and calm, but the superficiality dissolves after he has been there for some hours. He will see military trucks roaring through the roads at intervals 'itching for a brush with the other road users'. In their own homeland, lamented another Government official, Tamils suffer 'the indignity of having to carry identity cards with them all the time as in South Africa'. 'Don't take things on their looks. Take everything on evidence,' warned the official, his tone expressing caution and fear.

At each place visited by this correspondent, he heard the same story — the brutality unleashed by the security forces on the innocent civilian population in the shape of rounding up boys between the ages of 18 and 35 for torture, burning houses, churches and the market place and so on.

The closer one moves to the different areas, the more apparent becomes the 'misdeeds' of the servicemen. Wherever one went, one could find the people in mourning for somebody in the family killed by army men or emotionally upset for boys rounded up from their families. Perhaps for the 100th time, this correspondent listened to people saying the army in the North frequently went berserk. The tally of 'incidents' reported by the people is long.

One of the dastardly acts by the security forces commonly spoken about in the Tamil areas is the indiscriminate rounding up of boys between the ages of 18 and 35 (and sometimes also older men and even women) for interrogation following some militants' act of terrorism somewhere. 'At this rate in another 10 years there would be no youth left among the Tamil population,' said a former Member of Parliament, Mr V. Dharmalingam with understandable exaggeration.

Synonym for torture

In the weeks preceding this correspondent's visit, some 650 boys, largely from Valvettiturai and Point Pedro, were forcibly taken by the armed forces. In many cases, it was the parent who produced them to the military authorities. This is what Mr K. C. Adiapathan, Secretary of Valvettiturai Citizens Committee, has to say: 'Over the loudspeaker the army asks people to bring to the Community Centre all youths of 18 to 25 years with their national identity cards for inquiry and immediate release. The people cooperate by producing the boys from their houses and expect them to be returned soon after honest interrogation. But no such thing takes place. Instead, the boys are taken to the Palaly camp and to distant places in the far south for interrogation, perhaps a synonym for torture. Not all the captured boys return even after torture. In every batch, some 25 per cent of the boys are missing.'

Lawyers and other knowledgeable people say that such acts by the military are in contravention of the new emergency regulation requiring that no person arrested shall remain in military custody for more than 48 hours, and also requiring that information of the arrest be communicated to the Government Agent concerned within that period. It appears that the regulation is being violated with impunity considering that some of the Government Agents themselves have not been able to give the approaching people the whereabouts of their missing children.

The experience of Mrs Rajalakshumy Pancharatnam of Anaicoddai is heart-rending. Some time in May, she produced her son Vihas, alias Babu, at the Jaffna police station on the army's direction. Two days later, she learnt the boy was in the Jaffna Hospital with injuries. But the Government Agent informed her later that against medical advice the boy had been taken to Colombo from the Jaffna Hospital. A month later she was told that her son had died in Colombo. When she went to Colombo, she was allowed to see only the face of the body, while the remaining portion of the body was covered.

Another moving interview brought out the poignant tale of how brutally a 43-year-old person was assaulted in army custody. Alagaratnam Sivarmachandran of Maniamthoddam, Jaffna, a cottage industrialist, was taken into custody at his doorstep and moved to the Jaffna Stadium Camp along with five others from the locality, including his neighbour, Reginald. He and the others were asked to stand in a narrow trench the whole night and when he asked for water to drink, he was given a handful of stones.

During the 'questioning', the army removed his clothes, tied his hands,

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and put him down face downwards. He was asked to implicate Reginald in certain things and when he said he was not aware of anything, he was beaten until he was unconscious. With a bleeding head injury he was asked to go home by bus when he could hardly walk. Later, he had to be operated on for haematoma (blood tumour) in the Jaffna Hospital. He is still confined to his house, unable to carry on his normal work. 'What have I to do with the Tigers to deserve this barbarous treatment at the hands of the most indisciplined army in the world,' asked Sivaramachandran.

Or witness the fate of another boy who has not come back from military custody weeks after he was rounded up. The 21-year-old Kumara Kuruparan was nursing his sick father at Valvettiturai when he was asked for his identity card by army men who suddenly entered his house one afternoon in August. He produced it but that was not the end of it. He was taken away for interrogation but did not return home. 'Did you not take steps to find out his whereabouts', the boy's father was asked.

'For weeks I was in touch with the Government Agent and through him with the military authorities only to be told in the end that no boy of that description was ever was taken into custody,' remonstrated Mr K.K. Balasubramaniam, the boy's father, a senior lawyer and notary, advanced in years with the experience etched in his wrinkles. He had been operated on for kidney and heart troubles and was convalescing when his son was forcibly taken away. On the day he was met, he received a formal letter from the Army Commander Brigadier Balthassa, saying his boy was not in *military custody*.

The old man, in impotent rage, says he is not going to leave things at that. He will be going to the Supreme Court on a habeas corpus writ. But it will be a pity if he is not able to establish the identity of the uniformed person or persons who actually effected the boy's arrest. Many may not know the uniformed men do not sport distinctive numbers for facilitating identification.

A top official in the Jaffna district administration drew attention to another act of army vandalism aimed at destroying books pertaining to the Tamils' past and their culture. 'If this is not cultural genocide what else is?' he asked.

The 'security forces' have to their credit a hat-trick performance. First, it was the Jaffna Public Library, destroyed in 1981. Then came the burning of the Hartley College Library earlier this year, followed by the burning of the collection of 500-odd books belonging to one Nagamani Vijayaratnam in Point Pedro.

Founded by an English scholar missionary Peter Percival Hartley over a century ago, Hartley College, an apex institution for the whole of Vadamarachi area which has produced engineers, doctors, distinguished civil servants and scientists including Prof. Elizear (mathematician of renown) and Alwar Pillai (a distinguished civil servant), had the misfortune of being in the vandals' path. The second major library to go up in flames in three years, the Point Pedro Hartley College Library was burnt along with the class-rooms and care was taken to ensure that no books were spared. The Principal of the College took this writer around, explaining the extensive damage to the buildings and the furniture. 'The armed forces, mind you, avenged some defeat for the security forces at Thikkam,' he noted.

Pointing to the building next door — where the police commando unit is located — he noted that this kind of atmosphere is hardly conducive to study. The parents are afraid of sending the children to college as long as the commandos are in the neighbouring compound. To mark their solidarity with the Hartley boys and to express their concern over the random arrests and assaults by the armed forces and the police commandos, tens of thousands of students kept away from school for a whole week.

The Principal said it was a matter deeper than the mere loss of learning days. He wondered whether the Government would with a sense of remorse arrange for assistance to restore and reconstitute the 100-year-old Library burnt down by security forces on September 1.

This raised the question of what compensation the Government paid for wanton destruction, again by the security forces, of the Jaffna Public Library in 1981 on the eve of the election to the DDC. The information showed that it had not heeded the recommendation of Lionel Fernando that Rs.10 million be paid by the state for rebuilding the library, and the President instead had allotted just Rs.1 million from his relief fund for the purpose. 'Burning libraries anywhere is an act of cultural genocide amounting to a crime against humanity. But when the acts are perpetrated by the very forces maintained by the revenues raised from the citizens, it is, to say the least, shocking,' he concluded.

** Mr S. Parthasarathy is a correspondent of the Indian daily THE HINDU.*

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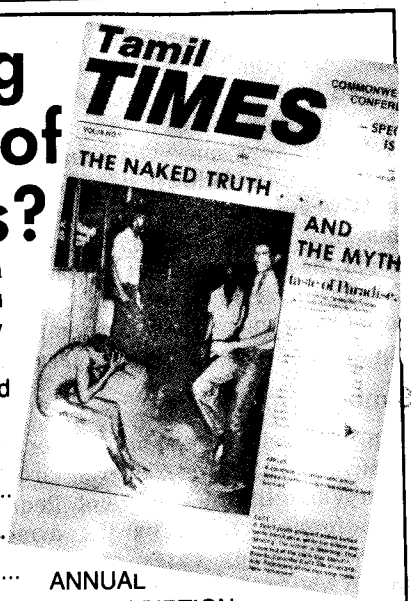

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VEMBADI OLD GIRLS ASSOCIATION (LONDON BRANCH)

Former students and teachers of Vembadi took the opportunity of Miss Mabel Thambiah's visit to the UK, to inaugurate the London Branch of Vembadi OGA. There was a turn-out of nearly 100 old pupils and their husbands at Putney, on 10th November, when Miss Thambiah, who had been connected with the school for 33 years (for 22 of these years, she was the Principal), addressed the gathering. The following were elected to serve on the Committee:

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EXPLOSIONS ROCK COLOMBO

On Monday 22nd October 1984, a series of bombs exploded in the city of Colombo between 5 and 9am, sending people and the authorities to panic stations.

Two bombs went off at the Fort Railway Station, one inside and the other in the adjoining bus station causing several injuries and damaging five buses and seven shops. Two died in Peliyagoda area when they meddled with a booby-trapped device. Ratnasabapathy Paripooranan, an Eelam revolutionary died in another such attack on the Kotaheana police station. Further explosions were reported near the state-owned broadcasting and television stations, Home Ministry offices in Independence Square, Guildford Crescent, Kynsey Road, Barnes Place and Saunders Street.

The scale of the damage was not revealed fully and there was a news black-out in order to reassure the public. But, for the first time, 'mobs' who attacked unarmed Tamil civilians before the very eyes of the 'security' forces, and the people who witnessed those 'courageous' acts 'helplessly', were seen to be running in all directions, this time not chasing an odd man on a bicycle or an odd child — perplexed by its ignorance of the 'crime' it had committed, but running away from an unknown, sleeping enemy. Those who preached and enacted the cult of violence for more than three decades against their own kind woke up to find 'alarm-clocks' on their own doorsteps.

Ever since the relatively powerful bomb explosion which ripped through part of Colombo's most prestigious Oberoi Hotel, it became apparant that Tamil militants had acquired the capacity to mount attacks deep down in the south of the country. The attack on the oil pipelines, again in Colombo on October 8th, established this development beyond doubt.

The fact that the 'Tigers' (LTTE) did not claim credit for these incidents and for the latest series of explosions also indicates that other Tamil militant groups have also entered the arena of political violence.

The government bent on military solutions to political problems has reacted predictably. More powers to the police and security forces; a high profile presence of the army everywhere, and a stop and search campaign, have been ordered.

People are requested to carry identity cards by Lalith Athulathmudali, who said they would soon be forced to do so by law. They are obliged to let themselves be searched when entering government buildings and should expect random checks in public places by security forces. Furthermore, they are burdened with the duty of being vigilant and expected to report anything or anybody suspicious. Private and state security guards and police are now being trained by the military bomb disposal units.

BOMB ATTACKS ON OIL PIPELINES

An attempt was made in the early hours of Monday 8th October 1984 to blast the pipelines carrying crude oil from Colombo port to Sapugaskande refinery and pipelines carrying finished products from Kolonnawa storage to Colombo port via Bloemendhal storage. 'The purpose was to blow up the pipeline and cause a major fire in the city of Colombo,' said a statement from the Ministry of National Security.

Two explosives placed at the concrete bunker housing the main control valve of the pipelines connecting Kolonnawa and Bloemendhal storages, located at Bloemendhal Street Rail Crossing went off at 00.15 hours. This resulted in the bunker being blown apart and two of the five pipelines, namely the one carrying naphtha and the one carrying gasoil, being punctured at more than five points.

Debris from the explosion scattered more than fifty yards away. There had been no oil flowing at that time. If pumping had been on, more than 100 gallons per minute would have been passing in the pipelines. According to the Assistant Government Analyst, the presence of residue oils had prevented the gases present from igniting. The residue oils were too heavy to ignite.

Shanty dwellings

About fifteen shanty dwellings in the vicinity were damaged and leaves of trees near the area had been shaved off.

Of the two explosive devices placed along the pipelines carrying crude oil from Colombo port to Sapugaskande Refinery, one exploded at 00.25 hours. The other was discovered intact by a police party which started searching the rail track running parallel to the pipelines immediately after the first two explosions. It was lying ten feet before the Nagalagam Street sluicegate junction, lodged between two pipelines. The one that exploded had been about five feet ahead on the other side of the railway track where the (main) crude oil pipeline is buried. The pipeline was damaged, but no timing device was found.

The one which was discovered is said to be twice as powerful as one used in Hotel Oberoi and the one found in the buildings of the Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka. It had 83 gelignite sticks in three bundles and a timing device set at 07.00 hours. A plastic container filled with petrol was found on top of the explosives in order to set fire to the crude oil which by itself is hard to ignite. Experts said that the device itself was 'expertly' done and had it exploded the resulting fire could have spread to the refinery and the Colombo port.

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Book Review

'SRI LANKA, ISLAND OF TERROR: An Indictment' — E.M. Thornton and R. Niththyananthan. Reviewed by DAVID SELBOURNE.

As the general catastrophe of Sri Lanka deepens, and the plight of the Tamils, in particular, worsens, the duty to maintain the public record of organised state crime and hoodlum violence against them cannot be relaxed for a moment. That is why this book – as would be the case with any other book which seeks to keep public opinion fully alerted – is to be welcomed; a joint labour, written with dedication and a just anger, by an English and a Tamil author, Miss E.M. Thornton and Dr R. Niththyananthan Indeed, their shared effort fully exemplifies the growing international reach, arm-in-arm, of outrage and protest at the suffering and discrimination heaped, like burning coals, upon the heads of the Tamils of Sri Lanka Moreover, at a time when the domestic and international press, and the world's broadcasting agencies, are being hounded, censored and intimidated by the authorities in Colombo, in a vain attempt to stop them reporting the news of the political and economic degeneration of Sri Lanka, the struggle to monitor by every available means the delinquencies of the regime plays a vital part in maintaining the spirit and courage of Tamils fighting for political and social justice in their homeland.

Draconian rule

Although there is little comfort in it, there is much useful and concisely presented information in this book. Indeed, in the Stygian darkness cast by racist excess, ugly religious bigotry, anti-Tamil paranoia and the grossest of human rights violations, we must all turn the light of reason, patiently sifting the facts – as Tamil victims have for so long sifted the embers of their lives and possessions – upon a barbarism of which the world has a right and duty to know the details. Already, Colombo is synonymous for millions with pig-headed draconian rule, Machiavellian cruelty, increasing economic difficulty and tourist danger; while the Tamil cause for all its own defensive (and, increasingly, offensive) violence, stands for the universal cause of all embattled minority peoples who have first wept, then called out, and ultimately fought for their citizen rights, physical safety and political freedoms.

There is also enough history in this well-written text for the reader to understand why the Sinhalese have been brought gradually to their knees politically and economically by their own hatreds and hysterias; and why the Tamils, in the same process, have been brought (too slowly), to their feet, fists clenched, by the duty to resist persecution, a duty which they owe not only to themselves, but to human dignity itself. It is a history, first, of colonial domination of two always distinct peoples, Dravidian and 'Aryan' – the latter a mischievously used racial self-image; then a history of the joint passage to independence from the British of the Sinhalese and Tamils; and finally a thirty-year history of growingly aggressive majority ethnicity, rather than of nation-building, after Ceylon's independence.

But it is also a story, deeply complex the further it is pursued beyond the range of this book, in which the gradual evolution of separate political instruments for Tamil representation – the Federal Party, the TULF, the 'boys', and with new formations emerging – is chronicled side by side with the unfolding of the long nightmare of racial pogroms against the Tamils. (It is a nightmare which will be set to rest only by the fulfilment of the dream of self-determination.) Woven through the account are pitiless themes: the continuous state organisation of racial violence, the continuous presence (since the mid-1940s) of J.R. Jayawardene in the thick of the fanning of racial hatreds, and the continuous perpetration of murder, rapine and arson without punishment of the culprits, as well as of promises of a political accommodation with Tamil demands which have never been – and were never intended to be – delivered.

But in consequence of these rabid crimes and follies, it is also a tale (for the Sinhalese as well as for the Tamils) of the corrupting impact of racial violence and discrimination upon all Sri Lanka's institutions. It has meant the gradual subversion and devastation of constitutional rights and the parliamentary system, of the rule of law and the integrity of the judges. It has meant, on the one hand, great damage to Sri Lanka's economic progress, but, on the other, latterly, the recognition on the part of an increasing number of foreign governments, aid and development agencies, investors, human rights workers and jurists, of the pariah nature of Colombo politicians and their lumpen agents, ready when their blood-lust rises – to run amok, howling like beasts, from Colombo to Jaffna.

For at the centre of this text stand the unrequited and unassimilable horrors of July 1983, with an appendix eye-witness account of them, which in its unostentatious way has few equals in the literature of human suffering and degradation. Yet July 1983 was neither the climax nor the culmination of the Tamil martyrdom and the Tamil struggle. If it were, it would represent in human terms a bloody defeat on the funeral pyres and in the charnel houses of racist violence, and humanity itself cannot afford such defeats. Instead, we must believe that the future holds political relief for the sufferings of the Tamil people; whether its unfolding lies in the laps of the gods, the wiles of the politicians, the hands of the militants, or the geo-political interests of India and the superpowers. But at least, with all such publications as this, and their number is increasing, and with the equally increasing vigilance of international public opinion, no one, Tamil or non-Tamil, can any longer say that they 'did not know what was happening' in Sri Lanka. It also serves as a warning that, while any people bleeds as do the Tamils, no man or woman can sit idly with arms folded; nor can the Tamils themselves continue to argue, disunited, about means and ends, or about this leader and that organisation, at what is the eleventh hour in the life of their tormented nation.

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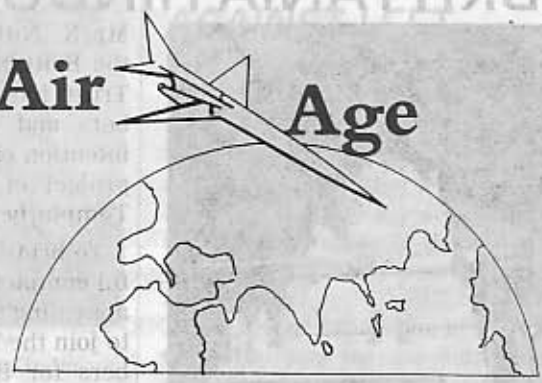

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Mr K. Nithiananthan, Secretary of the Brittania Hindu (Shiva) Temple Trust, has, in a circular to all members and devotees, expressed the intention of completing the building project of the Highgate Murugan Temple before March 1985.

To bring this project to a successful completion, Mr Nithiananthan is appealing for help from volunteers to join the Temple workforce, members for the building construction committee to advise and work relating to heating, lighting, painting, decoration, etc., members for the Social and Cultural, Religious and Membership Committees.

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SRI THILLAIAMPALAM SEEKS "FIRM ACTION' FROM INDIA

New Delhi

Mr Sri Thillaiampalam, President of the Eelam Tamil Asociation of America, has appealed to the government of Sri Lanka because the talks held so far have been a disappointing failure.

These observations were made by him while talking to newsmen at the conclusion of a recent visit to India during the course of which he had met leaders of political parties and key officials of the Indian government including Mr M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr Venkatraman, Vice-President of India and Mr G. Parthasarathy, Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Smokescreen

Mr Thillaiampalam had further said that President Jayawardene was only using the talks as a smokescreen to buy time to modernise his military arsenal to annihilate the Tamils. He was also inviting foreign powers into the problem, thereby jeopardising the very security of the Indian subcontinent.

Mr Sri Thillaiampalam with Mr Venkatraman, Vice-President of India

It was now becoming increasingly clear to the world why the Sri Lankan Tamils consider a separate state of Eelam as the only way to solve their problems and the Tamils realised that their entire future as a nation depended on the way India handled the situation now. Though Mr Thillaiampalam did not spell out in a concrete way what action he expected from the Indian government, he said that the least any country interested in the protection of human rights could do was to severe trade and diplomatic relations with Sri Lanka.

He also said that he had sought the good offices of Mr M.G. Ramachandran in bringing about unity among the various groups of Eelam Tamils now in India.

REPRESSION AGAINST LEFT GROUPS IN SOUTH

Political groups belonging to the left in South Sri Lanka are facing increasing repression from the security forces. Not only are they subjected to severe surveillance, many of their members have been harassed, arrested and tortured.

The recent explosions in the city of Colombo have led the authorities to suspect whether the northern Tamil militants have established organisational links with southern left groups and this is the reason for the increasing surveillance in the South, said a spokesman for the Ministry of National Security.

The government's repression has even extended to human rights organisations. Recently, security forces raided the Colombo offices of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) and took away all the records, documents and literature.

The action against the MIRJE, which is a non-partisan human rights body, is an indication of the government's determination to root out any dissent.

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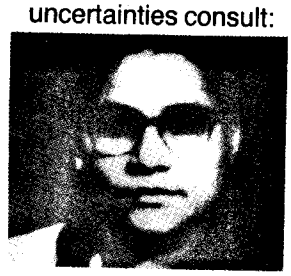

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உங்கள் வெளிநாட்டுப் பிரயாணங்களிற்கு கட்டாயமாக தொடர்பு கொள்ள வேண்டிய நம்பிக்கையான ஸ்தாபனம் றத்போன் ரவல்

	Single	Return
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London—Sydney	£305	£595
London—Tokyo	£305	£595
London—Kuala Lumpur	£210	£390

	Single	Return
London—Singapore	£210	£380
London—Colombo	£220	£390
London—Bombay	£230	£350
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Our office is situated near Tottenham Court Road underground station

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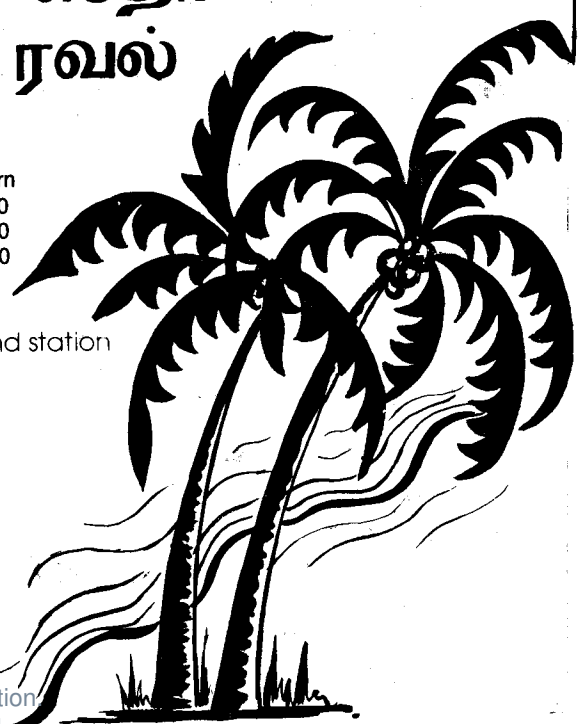

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